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Introduction

Background

The UNIFEM project African Women for Conflict Resolution and Peace is aimed at promoting a gender-sensitive and gender-inclusive path toward resolving conflicts and restoring peace in Africa. More specifically, it is intended to catalyse actions that will promote, highlight, and draw upon women's capacities and initiatives. It works through the emerging initiatives of African women for reconciliation and peace, to promote an exchange of ideas and experiences, leading to a strong coalition for peace and development—led by African women.

A major component of the project is to create a documentary base that will promote the concept of women as agents of peace in Africa. The documentation is research-based material that can be used for networking and for instituting a dynamic, gender-sensitive programme for peace education.

Objectives

The purpose of this study is to provide research-based material that can be used for networking and for initiating a gender-sensitive response to peace building and conflict resolution. The analysis is a collective and participatory exercise, identifying initiatives led by women and their institutions. More specifically, this study—

- identifies those issues that constitute conflict from the perspective of the majority of Sudanese women

- documents and analyses traditional forms of conflict management and gives examples of the role of women in Sudan
- documents current local peace initiatives in Sudan involving women and their institutions

Tasks

This publication addresses the following tasks:

To document and analyse traditional forms of conflict management and resolution, it—

- identifies sociocultural dynamics of conflict resolution and women's role in mediation
- identifies women's strategies for resolving conflicts in the home and the community
- documents innovative examples of local efforts and interventions, and whenever possible, collects local testimonies
- documents complementary and contradictory examples of women as peacemakers or as agitators

To document current peace initiatives in Sudan involving women and their institutions, it—

- assesses the sociopolitical, economic, and environmental dynamics of conflict and peace and women's current role in mediation and reconciliation
- assesses how ordinary local women perceive and live the conflict and postconflict reality and how this relates to their personal survival strategies and coping mechanisms
- identifies the changing roles of women and the gender relations in peacemaking
- assesses skills, resources, and capacities of women and their institutions as peacemakers and identifies existing gaps

- documents ongoing experiences of women-led peace initiatives
- recommends ways that promote expanding the peace process in Sudan

Methodology

Researchers and data collectors

The research team conducting this study consisted of Dr Amna E. Badri, the principal investigator, and Ms Intisar Abdel Sadig, the assistant principal investigator.

In addition, the following persons helped collect data:

- Ms Elizabeth Luki, Secretary for Peace (GUSW)
- Ms Soad Badri, MSc
- Ms Alia Badri, MSc
- Ms Zam Bandiri, BSc
- Ms Flora Kasmero, BSc
- Mr Amin Zakaria Ismail, MSc
- Mr Omer Zaki Eldin, BA
- Ms Azza Bakar, BSc
- Mr Yassir Ibrahim, high school certificate

Research design

The findings of this study are mainly based on primary data collected from displaced camps around Khartoum. Other primary information came from conflict areas, especially South Kordofan State; it was collected by one of the researchers while she was on another assignment for UNDP. The authors also used relevant secondary data, particularly a research study on traditional peace-making institutions in the Nuba Mountains, which had been carried out by the distinguished Sudanese researcher and sociologist H. ElBashir (1997).

The primary data sources were the women of Elssalam Camp; ElRamla shanty displacement area in Omdurman; Khartoum, Kassala, and Jabarona Khartoum North; and Bantiu Camp Khartoum. Various government and non-governmental bodies were also consulted.

Participatory rapid appraisal

Participatory rapid appraisal (PRA) techniques were used:

- semi-structured group interviews and discussions
- semi-structured interviews with key informants
- focus group discussions
- direct field observation

For more details on the PRA plan, see annex 1. A questionnaire was also designed and completed with women from Bantiu Camp in Khartoum to get information that is more detailed. Also, some women were interviewed who used to be with SPLA before the Khartoum Peace Declaration. Interviews on the issues of women and peace with selected distinguished persons were also an important source of information.

Personal history accounts and live stories

Personal history accounts and live stories were collected from some sultans—that is, women chiefs and other politicians—as well as ordinary women who have lived the reality of war (annex 2).

Focus group discussions

An effective if non-traditional way of collecting data was through focus discussion groups. These groups were made up of the women elites, traditional leaders, and ordinary women of many communities—Nubian, Southern and Arab. (See annex 3.)

Research constraints

A major constraint encountered in this study was that permission from local authorities to conduct the field research took a long time to obtain because of bureaucratic procedures and red tape.

During September, heavy rains made the displaced camps affected by war in Khartoum State inaccessible, as most of these camps are located in remote areas.

Many local communities refused to respond, as they believed that the information they would give does not improve their condition. They stated that many universities and organizations had on previous occasions collected information from them without offering them any tangible activities in return. But after long negotiations the researchers managed to overcome their objections.

Most of these camps lack electricity. This limited the number of hours for data collection because all group discussions with women had to be held after 3 p.m., as most women were working during the day.

Because of heavy rains and security problems, the researchers were unable to travel to areas where conflicts had taken place. However, most of the primary information about Southern and Western Kordofan States were collected by one of the researchers while she was involved in other research on traditional peace-making institutions in Southern Kordofan State, commissioned by the Netherlands embassy.

Research areas

Selection of the research areas was based on the following criteria:

➢ geographical coverage, as these areas represent the three

provinces of Khartoum State, and specifically poor urban settlements

- high concentration of a displaced and war-affected population, especially women
- ethnic diversity, as these camps represent different ethnic groups that experienced conflict, such as the Nuba with different clans, Dinka, Nuer, and other southern tribes, Arabs, and Fur
- Laggawa Province of Western Kordofan and Kadogli Province of Southern Kordofan States were selected as rural faction areas where conflict and civil war actually took place

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Traditional forms of managing conflict resolution

Sociocultural dynamics of conflict resolution

Certain features distinguish Sudan. It is the largest country in Africa; it is the first African country to gain its independence after the Second World War; and by African standards it is densely populated. Its geographical vastness makes it a microcosm of Africa. All these factors could work toward strengthening the country and making it a powerful state. Or conversely, they could result in a weak state besieged with problems of mammoth magnitude.

Unfortunately, Sudan has been unable to benefit from these factors. Since the eve of its independence, nearly 40 years ago, the conflict between the North and the South has not found a permanent solution. The civil war in Sudan, the longest war of its kind in Africa, has been going on with varying intensity since 1955. The devastation from the war has been immense: the death toll is high; whole villages in the South have disappeared; all services such as health, education, and transportation have collapsed; and economic activities have come to a standstill. In short, the South, being the battlefield, has been destroyed.

During the first phase of the war (1965–72), vast numbers of Southerners became refugees in the neighbouring countries

of Kenya, Uganda, and Zaire. During the second phase, when the war restarted in 1983, millions of Southerners were uprooted from their villages and came to live in the North, constituting what came to be known as the displaced population. Usually, the civil war has been attributed to ethnic differences, religious differences, cultural differences, and the concentration of political and economic power in the hands of the Northern Sudanese.

It is true that the Northern people, who are mostly Muslims and Arab oriented, are different from the Southerners, who are mainly non-Muslims and African oriented. It is also true that there is economic disparity between the two regions in favour of the North, and that the North has dominated the economy, politics, and government machinery in the country.

There has been only one precarious period of peace, between 1972 and 1983, in the civil war that has ravaged the country for nearly 40 years. To be sure, the Sudanese, both Northerners and Southerners, have been talking about peace, holding conferences and meetings to achieve peace, and even fighting to reach peace. The list of attempts to resolve the conflict is impressive:

- The Juba conference in 1947 deliberated the future of the relationship between the South and North and concluded that the two should be united into one Sudan.
- On the eve of independence, Southern political parties and their Northern counterparts agreed that the issue of federation between the two states should be addressed when the constitution of the country was drawn up.
- Subsequent meetings included the 1965 roundtable conference, the 12-man committee in 1966, and the congress of all Sudanese parties of government.
- The Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972 by and large

implemented the recommendations of these three meetings and gave Sudan a chance for peace. However, the parties to that agreement later abandoned it.

- The Democratic Unionist Party and the SPLA–SPLM reached an agreement in 1988 (better known as the Sudanese Peace Initiative).
- In the Kokadam Declaration of 1989, the SPLA–SPLM and the National Alliance for National Salvation (a conglomeration of Northern political parties and trade unions) agreed that a constitutional conference should be held under the banner of peace, justice, equality, and democracy. This conference would discuss the basic problems of Sudan.
- African parties of Sudan (whose constituencies are in the South) and the SPLA–SPLM issued several declarations and communiques.
- In March 1989, all the Sudanese political parties and trade unions except the National Islamic Front signed the Sudanese transitional charter. That charter upheld the Kokadam Declaration and the Sudanese peace initiatives. A meeting between the Sudanese government and the SPLA–SPLM was scheduled for 4 July 1989 to prepare for the long-awaited constitutional conference to be held on 18 September 1989.
- However, the military coup of 30 June 1989 aborted the arrangement. The new government escalated the war and simultaneously embarked on negotiations with the SPLA–SPLM. These negotiations took place first in Addis Ababa, then in Abuja, and later in Nairobi.
- In 1997, the Sudan government signed a peace agreement with some of the warring factions, but the war still continues between the government forces and the SPLM.

Participation of women in these peace meetings has been marginal or nil.

Types of conflict and conflict resolution

The types of conflict common in traditional societies need to be identified. This can be done at the level of the family, the clan, or the tribe.

Within the family, most conflicts relate to property, marriage, and divorce. In cattle-owning societies, disputes also arise over grazing land and watering points. The head of the family, the husband, takes the major role in resolving conflicts. If the conflict is not between husband and wife, the wife plays a role in mediation, especially if the conflict is among sons and daughters, between husband and children, or between the husband and his brothers and cousins. The wife would normally get the support of the relatives on the husband's side to intervene in the resolution of a conflict that has cropped up between, say, the husband and the children. The same procedures as within the family may be applied in clan and tribal conflicts.

Resolution to prevent conflict from spreading may involve extended family, clan, and the larger community. In such instances women get involved in at least three levels. A wife may express her view on the issues under consideration through the husband or other close male relatives involved in the conflict resolution. Secondly, she and other women may be involved through their fathers, brothers, and other relatives in their clans of origin. This is particularly the case if their clans of origin are involved in a conflict with the clan into which they have married—the clan of their husbands. Thirdly, women are normally involved in conflict prevention and conflict resolution sessions by preparing meals at the mediation.

Tribal alliances

The Hawazma Arabs and the people of the Nuba Mountains had been living in peace through the last three centuries. Tribal alliance between Arab and Nuba sections was an influential peace-making institution. When any two or more tribal sectors enter into conflict, allied sectors, Nuba and Arab, would mediate and reconcile the sectors in conflict. Often they would stand as representatives, not just of tribal sectors but of all the Nuba and all the Arabs (ElBashir 1997).

Historically, alliances between Nuba and Arab and between Dinka and Arab tribes begin as initiatives and acts of individuals, which then carry implications for the entire tribal sectors of the two individuals involved. Arabs as newcomers in the Nuba Mountains started developing links with the Nuba to the extent that each Arab leader was assigned to establish an alliance with a Nuba. To do this, he would call upon a Nuba man. If the man came with a black goat, it meant the alliance offer was rejected. But if he came with a white goat and carried milk with him, it implied good will. Hence a full-fledged treaty would be understood between the tribal followers of the two leaders, Arab and Nuba.

This tribal alliance between the two ethnic groups obliged both men and women not to attack each other and to support each other in case of assault. In such an alliance, the Arab tribe would support the Nuba tribe, even against another Arab tribe. For example, a Messiriya Arab tribe once made a major assault against the Lagori tribe from Kadogli and killed one of the tribe's men. Upon learning of the incident, both Dar Ballal and Awlad Rahma (tribal sections of Rawaga Arabs) joined forces with their ally, Al Lagori, and fought against the Messiriya Arabs, inflicting many losses on them (ElBashir 1997). This

alliance mechanism helped maintain Nuba–Arab peaceful coexistence for centuries.

Maraheel or migratory routes

Maraheel is the plural of 'route'—routes the nomads used to follow in the autumn to exploit seasonal natural resources and to avoid conflict between the different tribes in western and southern Sudan. Pastoral migratory routes were a traditional way local communities of western Sudan avoided conflicts that otherwise might have arisen between different tribal or economic groups, particularly between the pastoralists and the agriculturalists who inhabited the area.

Agreements were drawn between the different social groups to peacefully utilize their available natural resources. This implied interethnic willingness to coexist (Ibrahim 1995). Though these migratory routes, as mechanisms for conflict avoidance or management, were mostly initiated by tribal chiefs, who were usually men, women singers played a sustaining role by encouraging the tribe to migrate.

Blood money as a traditional form of managing conflict

Gatia el dum or blood money is a traditional way of managing conflict between the tribes and among segments of a tribe in Sudan. Although there are no data as to when this type of arrangement started, it is evident that it had begun before the British Condominium rule. Father Philip Gaboosh, former president of the Sudan National Party, who is now over 80, can recall that this mechanism was already in place when he was young.

If, for example, someone of the Nuba tribe killed someone from an Arab tribe, the elders from both tribes would agree

on the amount of money or cows to be paid as compensation. The diyya or ransom size between the Nuba and the Arabs is 31 cows for assassination of a man and 16 cows for the death of a woman. If both a man and a woman are killed, a bull is slaughtered for the reception of the mediation and reconciliation council (ElBashir 1997). However, if the death was unintended, the payment is only half of these amounts.

Intertribal political marriage

Intermarriage between different tribes is quite common in Sudan. However, some groups still desire indigenous marriage.

In the Nuba Mountains and the South, a tribal leader's marriage to one from another group has far-reaching implications for the public. For instance, if a tribal chief of an ElFagara–Rawawga Arab tribe married a daughter or sister of the leader of a tribal section of Moro-Nuba, then the relationship between the two is between two clans rather than two families. Hence, the two tribal chiefs involved in the marriage will absorb any conflict.

Thus, it can be said that political marriage further fostered intertribal alliances; it implied a gesture of sincerity on the part of the Nubans and denial of racism from the Arabs. An Arab man living in the Nuba Mountains once said, 'Since the Nubans are the uncles of our sons and daughters, then we cannot discriminate against them' (ElBashir 1997). ElBashir mentions that ethnicity has currently become an ideological construction for both Nuba and Arab with no physical support to it.

Livestock marks

Each tribal section or heritage in western and southern Sudan has its own livestock marks that distinguish its properties from

others. If Arab tribes steal cows of the Nuba, the Nuba leader sends his livestock mark to leaders of both Nuba and Arab allies, asking for their help to find the livestock. The Nuba men and their Arab allies go out for *fazaa* (searching for tribes with certain marks). Women participate in this fazaa by singing encouraging songs.

Peace restored

History does not record any major conflict that involved Nuba and Arab, the two major ethnic groups in the region (ElBashir 1997). The first such conflict occurred in 1989 as part of the North–South civil war that started up again and extended to the Nuba Mountains in 1985. After years of heated fighting, the two groups have succeeded in regaining peace through revitalizing traditional institutions.

Women's traditional strategies for resolving conflict in the home and the community

In both the home and the community, women in most societies in the South are involved in resolving conflicts in various ways. Women seem to sense developing conflicts at early stages—as mothers they are the first to become aware when children generate conflict with the neighbours, and they draw their husbands' attention to the situation.

The wife plays a significant role in proposing ways to resolve the conflict. In the community, some conflicts may be referred to women to resolve because women are considered better suited to do so. Women may sit as chiefs and judges to resolve such conflicts. For instance, Chief Sekina of the Munda tribe in the Maridi Rural Council, a woman, was empowered to settle disputes not only between individuals but also between

various groups in the community. A strategy that the chief and her assistants (both women and men) commonly adopted was to engage the community in debate on issues that were likely to generate conflict. Their strategy was to nip the conflict in the bud.

Another strategy women use widely is to compose songs that emphasize the power of solving problems peacefully through debate and discussion. Women are known to have suggested binding two antagonistic communities through intercommunity marriage. The new bonds and relationships that come with the marriage serve as a bridge for peaceful living between the two communities.

Traditional communication mechanisms

Women in the patriarchal society of Sudan have little or no decision-making power and limited participation in political processes, including negotiations for peace. Yet they play a very vital role in war and conflict making. In other words, women through use of the traditional communication system in Sudan could be considered agents of war.

Traditional communication refers to indigenous communication systems such as music, dancing, story telling, poetry, proverbs, and rituals. Sudanese people are a mix of various ethnic and tribal groups; the cultural heritage of each group determines the form and method of its traditional communication.

There are many forms of traditional communication in the country, such as *nehas*, *nuggara kpanimgbo*, *hijwa*, *haddai*, *mogai*, *debait*, and the *hakama* (singer) (Dahab 1997). They play a role in peacemaking or warmaking in the rural societies of western Sudan, among both Arab and Nuba.

The hakama is a woman who composes and sings innovative songs that emphasize and transmit the society's beliefs, norms, and value system. The hakama is not only innovative in composing songs, she is influential and respected by both men and women and by tribal chiefs. She leads a normal life like other women in rural societies of Kordofan and Darfur, yet it is very easy to identify her in special circumstances. For instance, in inter- or intratribal conflict, the hakama usually leads a group of women cheering for the men who are fighting. The hakama herself will lead the cheering group with her face uncovered, denoting 'unaccustomed habit', and the fighters will bow to her, telling her of their readiness for war. This is known among the Baggara tribe as *tanabor*, a demonstration of power. In this occasion, the hakama sings to encourage men to show their bravery to the enemy. Here the hakama of the Nuba Mountains, Boram Rural Council of Kadogli, cheers on her tribe's fighters by comparing their power with that of the Krongo tribe, which is in SPLA territory:

> Men of Krongo are brave and never fear popular defence. Abu Goor [a brave man] of Krongo by his gun kills thousands of popular defence men who are riding their camels, but our men, whenever they hear the voice of the camels, run away. They are not as brave as Krongo men are.

To sum up, the hakama bears a measure of responsibility for wars waged between tribes. By her singing, she incites the men of her tribe to launch war against others. She is the propagandist of the tribe (Dahab 1997).

The Sultana Mandi, for example, played a vital role by singing for her tribesmen to fight against the British. During the Condominium rule, 1916–17, the Sultan Agbna attacked many of the neighbouring tribes to capture cattle—an act with socioeconomic implications of power and prestige. The British

administrator warned him to stop these incursions but he did not. Thus, the sultan and the British administrator warred. And the sultana spurred her people on. Still today, one of the sultana's songs is the main march used by the Sudan military forces, and former Sudanese president Gaafar Nimeiri awarded her a prize for bravery.

3

Contemporary strategies for resolving conflict

In a patriarchal society such as Sudan, women were expected to get married, have babies, and be obedient to their husbands. But the postwar picture has changed that tradition, as pointed out by displaced women in Khartoum. The husbands are now unemployed or do not have steady jobs; hence, the household income is unstable and barely covers the basic needs. Therefore, women shoulder the responsibility of working to secure income for the survival of the household. We quote Asha Babor, a young Nuba woman living in Elssalam Camp:

> Almost all married women in this camp are responsible for the provision of food, clothes, and other necessities. Our men are only agriculturalists who do not have any other skills. What job opportunities are there available for them? So to avoid tension or conflict that may arise because of their jobless state, we are forced to work to provide our families with their needs.

Women in the war zones adopt another strategy for family survival. Both the government forces and the SPLA make their demands for rural men. So women in South Kordofan who have adult sons either sell their possessions to send their sons away to avoid the armed forces or migrate with their children, mainly to Khartoum. This tactic is reflected in the testimony of Amna Kriash, a Nuba woman from Kadogli:

> I came to Khartoum in 1995 and I live in Hay ElBaraka with my four sons, two of whom are at secondary school and one in grade seven. I prefer to live in a Khartoum displacement camp despite the fact that there is no cultivation here and no future for my children. My cousin divorced her husband in 1994 because he sent their son to join [the war].

Sultan Mical Ateem, who currently lives in Elssalam Camp, testified—

> Before the civil war, conflict between wives and husbands was minimal in our communities of Bahr ElGazal. This is mainly because at home we have our land to cultivate and food is available. Not only that, but there is no close interaction between the two parties, hence, there is no daily conflict as such. Men of a peer group gather the whole day in a *dar*. We see our wives only at night, and at that time, both of us are eager to see each other.
>
> In the home, women need to define their problems. There is often a need to face circumstances in which problems and conflicts are manifested in indirect ways creating ineffective work patterns and poor follow-through on projects. Women can create a suitable friendly atmosphere to pave the road to peace. If problems are prenatal in nature or between wives and husbands or between mother and daughters, plans to resolve them should be confidential and restricted to the two persons. Conflicts should be resolved within the family circle and not go beyond that.

Women have strategies for resolving community conflict also, where it arises for different reasons—competition over limited resources, social tension between different ethnic tribes, politics, unequal sharing of power, and so on.

Formation of the so-called women's court is one strategy that women in the displacement camps said they use to resolve these conflicts. Although this court has no official recognition by the state and no legislative power, the community recognizes

it, and most importantly, so do the local native courts of the sultans and the mayors . Sultan Mical Ateem reported that the existence of such courts reduces some of the pressures on the sultans' courts, as many of the issues of conflict are now resolved by the women's court. Following is the testimony of Mary Anglo, a woman leader from Awiel living in Elssalam Camp:

> I am the director general of the Sudanese women's union at Elssalam Camp. Because of my mediation and negotiation skills, I was able to solve many problems at the camp that arose among the different tribes. In fact, it was my initiative to form this court. The idea is that it's better for us women to solve our own problems, instead of throwing ourselves at the mercy of men. For instance, if a man beats his wife, he is asked to come to court and pay a charge of 3000 Sudanese pounds* as a 'medication fee'. Also we solve problems, quarrels and conflicts between women and their children.

In the camps, women form groups according to tribe—the Keiga ElKhail Women's Group, the Dinka Awiel Women's Group, and so on. These groups are formed to give support, solidarity, and empowerment to the women who are members. Each Friday, all the group members meet at a member's house to discuss over tea the issues and problems that have come up during the week. Each woman is required to donate a cup of sugar, a bar of soap, and 500 Sudanese pounds to be given to the most needy, for example widows and orphans.

The Keiga ElKhail (Nuba) Local Women's Group at the ElRamla displaced area consists of 240 women who support each other on different social occasions. Group members donate money weekly, and such funds have enabled them to acquire group property, such as digging tools for funerals.

*Approximately 1700 Sudanese pounds equal 1 US dollar

Another strategy community women adopt is to involve women leaders who are known locally as 'chief of the *hara*' as mediators in conflict management. Fatima Abouk, who is such a leader from Dinka Awiel and who presently lives in Elssalam Camp, served as a mediator in a conflict that took place between a man from Dinka Awiel and a woman from Dinka Abuyei. She reported that—

> . . . one night a woman came to my house asking for a solution to her problem. Her son was having a relationship with a Dinka girl from Abuyei and the girl got pregnant. The girl's father was angry because the son did not pay the dowry as he could not afford it. I kept the girl with me and I was able to raise funds from our tribe members up to 150,000 pounds. When the girl's father and his men came to my house looking for the girl and wanting to fight with the men of my tribe, I asked them to stop and look for a solution that would satisfy both parties. After debates and discussions, I was able to convince the girl's father to accept the money raised, and when the girl's man returns to his homeland he will pay [20 cows] in kind.

Another strategy that the women of Elssalam Camp have developed is the coordination between the women leaders and the NGOs that provide services such as water. Water is very scarce in this camp, as there are only three water yards. The Sudanese Red Cross and Red Crescent is one of the NGOs that provide such services. A Tulishi–Laggawa Province woman leader, who is the wife of the sultan, reported—

> There is not enough water in the camp. Since fetching water is women's responsibility, we agreed that each household should have only three tins of water. If the tanker comes twice a week then the amount will double. Pregnant and old women should not stand in the queue. This has become like a law, but it is broken by [a group of] women. For example, [such a] woman would allow

> her sister or someone from the same tribe to stand in front of her in the queue. The rule is first come, first served. Thus, conflict arose between . . . women [from two tribal groups]. I tried to maintain order but failed as women quarrelled and beat each other. The only way was to contact the Red Crescent and propose a solution that each tribe should have its own water tap managed by one of its woman leaders. Fortunately it worked.

In the community, mediation first takes place between disputants. Usually the mediators are people who are respected in the community, who have patience, and who will persevere and see the mediation task through successfully. In the home, the wife often takes the burden of resolving conflicts, but the husband usually makes the final decisions.

Innovative local efforts and interventions

Here are three cases of local efforts—one by a Nuba woman, another by a Southerner, and the third by a group of Nuba women who live in the rural western part of Kadogli.

Ista Koku, 40 years old, is a Nuba woman from rural Kadogli married to a Southerner. She did not complete her primary education. She is working with the Episcopalian Church as a development officer for women. Ista has been involved in North–South peace negotiations since 1992. She participated in organizing a peace conference in Haj Yousif–Khartoum. It was the first peace meeting between Nuba and the government; in it, the government agreed to share power with the group and to refrain from imprisoning Nubans suspected of supporting rebels. In 1994, Ista was involved in a peace conference organized by a church council in Germany. She and five other delegates from the South met with SPLA women delegates.

In 1994, they formed the Borian Peace and Development Committee. Ista said—

> I am in charge of the women's desk. At that time Borian was under SPLA control. I mediated with another Nuba woman from the church and five men from my area with the government and the rebels. In Borian, we met an SPLA representative and a leader of the Borian SPLA camp. The group agreed that I should start negotiations with the SPLA representative. After debating, the representative conceded to accept the letter from the Sudan government signed by the vice-president. The chief of the SPLA–Nuba faction appreciated this initiative. It was a risky venture, carried out because of my love of peace and my dedication to it.

Alakeer Malwal, a woman leader from Upper Nile and a widow, testified—

> I was the General Director for Women in the SPLA. In 1991, I became the General Director for SPLA Women in the Riek Machar faction [SSIM]. I participated in the displaced women's camp in Ethiopia by mobilizing women politically. I am a member of the Sudanese Women in Solidarity, and we initiated a peace dialogue with Northern and Southern Sudanese women in collaboration with UNIFEM and the Carter Centre for Peace in Nairobi in September 1995. I am also a member of the Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace and the Sudanese Women's Coalition for Peace.

It is through innovative initiatives such as these that peace can be sustained.

Women as peacemakers or as agitators

Women are half of the society. If they convince themselves to become peacemakers, then half the society is working toward peace. Women can create a soothing, reconciling atmosphere, going side by side with men to make peace.

But women's role can also be negative, and women can be agitators. However, women, no matter what, are change agents in a society and must not be ignored or marginalized in efforts to build a prosperous, healthy, integrated, and peaceful society.

Yet there are examples of women who have encouraged intercommunity marriages to lessen or even eliminate conflict. There are examples of girls and mothers, like Chief Sekina or the Queen of the Latuka, who have encouraged peace among members of the tribe by composing songs about peace and about the evil of tribal fights. There are examples of women and girls who compose and sing songs in praise of warriors in the community.

The role of women as agitators against building peace is epitomized by the role the hakama plays in rural Kordofan and Darfur. It is evident that many a conflict or tribal war has intensified because of her. Because of the strong local cultural heritage, beliefs, and value systems of rural people, if a hakama calls her tribesmen to defend the honour of the group or if she accuses them of having no courage or chivalry, they will fight to the death. Those who fail would be disgraced for the rest of their lives. For example, in rural Kordofan, especially among the Baggara tribe, if a man refuses to join in the fighting, a woman will stand in front of him with her head uncovered, an act known as *tarig el jafalo.* This act humiliates and disgraces the man—indeed, everyone in the group, as it is an insult to their dignity. One of the most famous Baggara proverbs says '*el sumaa wala elomoot*'—if one cannot maintain one's reputation, it is better to die.

In 1950, two clans in Upper Nile Province quarrelled. A man in community 'A' was killed by men of community 'B'. The women of community A resolved not to prepare meals

for their husbands and adult sons unless the men would go to war with community B to avenge the fallen man. The men, seeing themselves regarded by their women as cowards, went to war. The women accompanied the men of community A to the war front. Not only did they want to ensure that their men actually fought bravely, they even helped supply their menfolk with weapons of war.

However, at the end of the war, the women encouraged peace-making gestures, including the voluntary payment of ransom and resumption of intermarriage between persons in the two communities.

This type of incident occurred again and again among different communities in the 1950s. Women would taunt their menfolk for being 'cowards'. Some women agitators would play the roles of men in war and place men in women's roles. Women have had considerable input in the present civil war. At one point in the mid 1980s, girls gathered together in one of the largest districts of Sudan and announced that they would not accept a marriage proposal from any young man who was not enlisted in the war. They would refer to such young men as 'cowards' and 'good for nothings'. The taunting and agitation made young men enlist in the war.

Sudanese women and the Popular Defence Force

Today, the Popular Defence in Sudan focuses on training citizens in civil and military defence, awakening their military spirit, extolling traditions and introducing discipline so as to enhance the performance of the armed and other regular forces in their duties.

The tasks of the Popular Defence Forces are—

➢ to assist the armed forces

- to participate in the defence of the country and helping in areas of disasters and catastrophes

Regarding the training of women, Brigadier ElAbbase, the Popular Defence commander in chief, said, 'The law does not discriminate between women and men, so it has become a basic core of the Popular Defence Forces to militarize all the Sudanese nation'. Hence, camps were opened for training women. The main training camp is at Khawla Bint ElAzwar in Khartoum State. The former coordinator of the women's sector, Ms Sumia ElFaki, said, 'Being involved in Popular Defence Forces made responsible people in the country realize that women are capable of carrying arms, just like men'. The two key institutions used by the military to promote this role were the General Union of Sudanese Women and the Working Women's League.

Current peace initiatives in Sudan involving women

In the Sudanese government there are women who are involved in conflict resolution. Mrs Agnes Lakadu, the governor of Bahr ElGazal Province, for example, has participated in the general peace talks.

At the community level, we hear songs composed by Tereza Nyankoe of Abyei and another woman from Tonj, Warrap State, calling for the war to be resolved. These women call upon God and upon leaders of the government and the opposition to concentrate on the realization of just peace, to save their children from the evils of war.

Women have recently increased their call for a peaceful resolution of the civil war. They went to the streets in the three towns of Khartoum, calling upon the government to bring their young sons back from compulsory military service.

But women seriously lack the political power to resolve the current conflict. And the initiatives they have taken have not been well organized. Forums have been established in the past—Beijing 1995, the UNIFEM–Carter Peace Dialogue in Nairobi 1995, and a workshop organized by Ahfad University for Women in Khartoum, also in 1995. The women's desk of the Sudan Council of Churches also organized a conference on women and peace. These are steps in the right direction, yet more practical steps are required. For instance, women who are committed to resolving the conflict peacefully should approach leaders on both sides who are managing the conflict.

4

Coping with adversity

Civil war in the Sudan is forcing 2.2 million Sudanese into displacement around Khartoum, into conditions radically different from those in their homeland. Many have lost all their belongings, have become poor, and have been obliged to migrate to the capital in search of income.

Displaced women, in particular those who head households, are lacking education and basic skills needed for doing a particular job. They are in severe need of financial support so that they can at least practise low-income marginal activities. The main activity for these displaced women is rudimentary food processing and street trading, preparing food and drinks, making handicrafts, and similar activities that require limited skills.

As war continues, people in great numbers continue to migrate to the capital. The swelling community places strains on the fragile, existing resources of the city. Women have had to adopt new strategies to cope with their lives as the urban displaced.

Marriage and dowry in displaced camps

Mary Anglo, a Southern Sudanese leader from Awiel, once stated, 'Despite our miserable conditions as a war-affected population, life is not going to stop. Marriage, festivals, dancing, and many other happy events will continue to take place.'

The traditional dowry offered in marriage among Dinka, Sholok, Nuba and some Baggara Arab tribes is in-kind

payment—the 'in kind' being cows, the main source of wealth among these tribes. As a result of war, many people lost their cattle and currently live in displaced camps. Hence, dowry is now paid in cash; for instance, a bride is given an equivalent of 20,000 Sudanese pounds (US$12) for one cow, although the real value of a cow is 200,000 pounds (US $120).

Sultan Michael Ateem of the Dinka tribe once served as the mediator for an intertribal marriage—the man from the Falata tribe and the woman from the Nimang–Nuba tribe. The dowry was agreed to be 25 cows. The groom paid 240,000 Sudanese pounds, equivalent to 12 cows, and agreed to pay the rest at his homeland. It is through such social-support mechanisms that displaced communities cope with the postwar period, characterized by mass impoverishment, as their cattle were either stolen or lost.

Participation in food-for-work programmes

Many national and international NGOs offer assistance and services to displaced camps. However, free distribution of relief and aid is expensive and cannot cover all the victims. Thus most NGOs are presently involved in food-for-work programmes.

Amna El Basha, a 40-year-old Nuba woman from Dalami, participates in such a programme. She indicated that—

> I participate with other women in digging holes for a pit latrine project. In return, I get dura, lentils, oil, and other foodstuff. The problem is that it is not a sustained source of food. But for the time being, we have no choice but to participate in such programmes.

It is obvious that women's participation in food-for-work programmes is one of the economic coping mechanisms common in displaced camps. Both men and women consider this programme worth their while, and it compensates for the absence of general relief distribution (ElNager 1996).

Marginal jobs for women and child labour

Table 1 shows distribution of displaced populations in the suburbs of Khartoum. According to ElNager (1996), children constitute 52.9% of camp populations, and the percentage of male children is higher than that of females. The ratio of male to female children is 113 to 100 in Elssalam Omdurman and 108 to 100 in Jebel Aulia. The female-headed household is a noticeable phenomenon in the camps. Among 5911 households surveyed in Jebel Aulia, 52% are female headed; 32.8% of the 8907 households surveyed in Elssalam Omdurman are female headed.

Table 1. Distribution of displaced population in Khartoum suburbs, 1991 and 1995

Camp	Population 1995	Families 1991 (no.)	Families 1995 (no.)
Jebel Aulia	39,889	14.500	14,000
Elssalam Omdurman	48,923	20,000	25,000
Mayo Farms	30,320	8,500	11,053
Wad ElBashir	not available	5,000	9,000
Hay ElBaraka*	80,000	–	–

Source: ElNager 1996; Estimates are based on numbers of ration cards
*provided by the Local Popular Committee

The survey revealed that 90% of displaced women, whether heads of their households or not, are engaged in income-generating activities, mainly selling tea, food, and spices. In addition, elder women grind dura in the dura market to survive. One of the respondents living in Elssalam Camp,

60-year-old Halima Adam, supports her five orphaned grandsons.

She was one of the first women to go daily to the dura market to collect the byproduct from the milling. She used to get about 2 kilos a day to feed her family, but now gets less, as other women share in collecting it.

The government subsidizes the everyday consumption commodities, one of which is sugar. Poor families who cannot afford even the subsidized price depend on selling their sugar ration to buy their daily food, mainly grain, the staple food of the majority. About 90% of the displaced women on the outskirts of Khartoum cope for their food in this way.

Women also made traditional beer to sell, but because the government prohibits alcohol, this activity is now restricted, and those who make it are exposed to police raids. Two police officials once attacked the house of a young woman from Awiel, confiscated the beer, her money, four beds, two chairs, and other belongings. She said that 'harassment is a daily experience'. Because of such police raids, selling beer is no longer a common source of income.

Other young women work in soap and perfume factories as labourers. They work in poor conditions and receive little income.

Another survival mechanism that some of the young displaced women in Hay ElBaraka adopt is prostitution. Some of the women interviewees said that they are involved in it for a living. Formerly, all prostitutes were publicly known to be settled in what was called the Red Area. Since the present government came to power, it has established in every community a Local Popular Committee, whose mandate is to maintain law and order. As a result, prostitution is now practised only secretly and there is no longer any Red Area.

Many children are economically active as child labourers. Male children sell plastic bags or water, or they shine shoes or work as waiters. Either they work after school or they drop out of school to work as many hours as possible. Female children are involved in domestic activities in the city and come to the camps during the weekends. Such practices will definitely restrict these communities from getting out of their vicious circles. Here are the situations of two of the respondents:

Fatima Ali Issa is a 40-year-old Messiriya woman, a widow with three boys and four girls, all of whom are child labourers. The three boys sell plastic bags after school, two of her daughters work as domestic maids in the city, and one is a waitress in a restaurant in Elssalam Omdurman. The mother herself sells food spices in the camp.

Hawa Toto from Kaiga, Juba lives in Hay ElBaraka Camp. She is the mother of four boys and three girls of school age. They used to attend school when they were in their homeland, Kadogli. But in the civil war, they lost all their possessions and migrated to Khartoum. Hawa's source of income is selling tea in the market. Her daughters are forced to work because they have no money to pay their school tuition fees (the government charges fees for education). Hawa believes that education is more important for boys than for girls as the boys are the future breadwinners for their families.

Table 2 shows the educational level among displaced populations by gender. Although child labour might seem a solution for the families of conflict victims, it creates problems of its own. It encourages school dropouts, engagement in odd jobs, family disintegration, and ultimately limits the child's self-development.

Table 2. Distribution of displaced population by level of education and gender, in percentages

Educational	Jebel Aulia		Mayo		Elssalam		Wad ElBashir		Hay ElBaraka		Total	
level	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Illiterate	60.0	35.0	64.1	44.4	81.6	58.3	78.8	40.0	71.1	50.0	73.2	47.4
< primary	18.3	20.0	15.6	3.7	9.6	15.0	11.3	5.0	13.2	4.2	13.2	11.7
Primary	6.7	12.5	1.6	11.1	3.5	5.0	3.8	20.0	5.3	16.7	4.1	11.1
< intermed	1.7	2.5	6.3	–	–	–	3.8	5.0	5.3	–	3.1	1.8
< second'y	–	–	–	7.4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	14.6
Secondary	8.3	20.0	6.3	18.5	0.9	8.3	–	15.0	2.6	12.5	3.1	0.6
University	1.7	2.5	–	3.7	0.9	1.7	–	–	–	–	0.5	1.2
Postgrad	–	–	–	3.7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.6

Source: ElNager 1996

Efforts are being made to combat this problem of girls dropping out of school. The Kaiga University Students Association (KUSA) initiated the Khalifa Institute for educating young dropouts. There are 117 students—108 girls and only 9 boys. The university students volunteer their efforts and time as teachers.

Coping mechanisms in conflict zones

Women are in the majority in the war zone, as men are either killed, lost, or recruited into the war. The dominant mode of living in the villages is small-scale agriculture, mainly for subsistence, with a small number of cattle looted during the war. Zahra Brima, a 50-year-old Nuba woman from Kohliat-Kadogli, said—

> Choices are very limited. Being displaced in Khartoum is more painful than staying in the war zone, despite the feelings of insecurity. Therefore, we resorted to living on our original land, cultivating dura, sesame, and okra. The rebels used to come to the village once in a while to take our livestock. At the same time, we are not protected by the state, as officials suspect that we are rebels. Anyway, we cope with this situation by negotiating with the rebels, agreeing that each month a group of women will provide them with animals and dura. It is like paying taxes.

A study by UNDP on the Area Rehabilitation Scheme (ARES) in Laggawa Province in 1997 found that there is a shortage of cultivable land. As the hosting communities provide returnees from the war with one or two *mukhama*s of land, the amount of land available for cultivation is limited. Most of the returning women are heads of households and they bear the responsibility of securing food for their children. Therefore, they have to have other sources of income. As women lack

skills other than cultivation, they either work as agricultural wage labourers or tax the surrounding rich environment by producing charcoal for big markets in the nearby towns of Laggawa and Elfula —a negative environmental consequence of the armed conflict. To quote one of the respondents—

> Salwa Koko is a Kamda-Nuba woman, a teacher who lives in Laggawa Province. She is involved in charcoal production. She sells one sack for 6000 Sudanese pounds at the Laggawa market to feed four orphans under her care. She said, 'it sounds illogical to tell the women in such circumstances about the environmental hazards of cutting trees for charcoal'.

5

Women's life experiences

Women's perceptions of their experiences

Because of the civil war, women have lost their children, their husbands, their fathers, perhaps their mothers or other relatives and friends. Many women have been displaced in areas affected by the civil war. Some have moved to neighbouring countries; others have moved far away, to new cultural, political, and economic environments; some have moved from rural areas to strange urban environments.

These experiences have certainly sharpened women's perceptions about the war and the issues that have fuelled it. Postconflict realities will and should focus on repatriation of the displaced, on relief and resettlement, and efforts should emphasize the need to develop, expand, and consolidate a culture of peace. Such a culture will be necessary to develop attitudes of resolving disputes peacefully instead of violently.

In areas of armed conflict, violent practices such as the abuse of women are widespread. No one can deny the fact that the incidence of rape and other forms of sexual humiliation has markedly increased, with serious, long-term physical and psychological effects on the victimized women. During a focus group discussion, a 40-year-old woman testified:

> It happened in 1990. It was a dark night. Our village was attacked. When we heard the shooting, we all ran away, taking our children. But some of the disabled and pregnant women were left behind.

My cousin Laila was among those left in the village as she was heavily pregnant. Unfortunately, she passed through a horrible experience. She was raped and left unconscious outside her house. After that incident, we women decided to spend the night outside the village in the bushes with our children, to avoid such violence. Many other women, young and old, were raped by both SPLA and Sudanese Government soldiers.

An old woman who worked as a cook in one of the soldiers' camps around Kadogli said—

When the soldiers say, 'Let's go and collect some mangos today', it means they will attempt to rape some young women.

Conflicts stem out of and are created by hardships and ailments that exist in life. If these conflicts accumulate and are not resolved or if they reach an impasse, the personal situation that emerges is dark and gloomy for many women.

The experience of Cecilia Andrea Apaya in war and peace

To say a word about my past experience in the war zone brings back all the pain and sadness I have gone through. It reflects the loss of people, livestock, land and everything. But life goes on. In the war zone, life was different. Every minute I felt the possibility of losing my life and my family. I expected gunshot from any direction. I lost my appetite for food. I remember I spent four days without food, but I had no appetite, especially after heavy fighting.

When I came to Juba, I had no idea of the Arabic language. In my village, which is 400 km west on the Zaire–Sudan border, we spoke in our own dialect, some Lingala, and some English. In Juba I found myself in a very strange atmosphere. For me to understand and to be understood by others, I began to learn the local Arabic of Juba in school. I continued my school in the English pattern. The school was mixed, with Arab girls as well. But during playtime

I did not want to join them, for although I was good in basketball, I found it difficult to communicate in Arabic on the playground. Any mistake made everybody laugh. So I had to adapt my self to the town life.

Before I could really settle myself down again the war broke in Juba town. Again things went bad—no food, no sleep. Life became unbearable. But when the fighting stopped again, we went back to school and sat for the Sudan school certificate. I am not here to face another kind of torture, and worse still to end up on the outskirts of the town such as in Agaburuna, only for the simple reason that I am a displaced person. Why not use this word for the Sudanese coming from Dongola and Medeni [towns in northern and central Sudan].

I did not believe that I was going to pass. I lacked confidence. We had not had proper studies, because most of the time we were in underground rooms for safety. Worse still, there were too many people in one room, and light by night was forbidden. And if the war situation became very tense it was announced that we would not go to school at all. Movement was minimized, and we were allowed to go only to feeding areas.

Much of the time all of us as a family would sit together waiting for the next missiles. We really lived with grief and under severe stress—until we became immune to such traumatic situations. So we built a hut to live in, and if the situation was good, we began to cultivate grain, maize, and vegetables for our own consumption. Sometimes when they were almost ready for harvesting, the situation would again become very tense. Then the cows and goats would eat all the gardens while the owners were underground in holes for safety.

Some of the people were forced to flee to Khartoum for safety, or to the neighbouring countries of Uganda and Kenya. Although I was living in a very bad situation, I went on struggling with my education until I was absorbed as a primary school teacher in Equatoria Region. Then I was sent for training here in Khartoum, and I teach the displaced students who fled from Juba in 1988–89.

Although staying in Khartoum is away from war physically, it has created another big problem, as difficult to handle as being in the war zone. Being here doesn't mean I have passed over all my problems. I am faced with problems of another nature. There in the war zone my house was burned three times. If you run away, your house will be burned. Here my family had been pushed out eight times, forced to move from house to house. I remember in November 1996 we were pushed out of the house for the simple reason that we failed to pay the rent at the right time. So we moved. We stayed in an open space but with walls around it until we got some money. We paid for two months and went inside. But within two hours the owner of the house came from Kuwait and ordered us to leave the house within half an hour. It was his brother who had rented it to us.

What I really fail to understand is the word 'displaced'. It doesn't seem to be relevant to my being typically Sudanese. It is clear that I must remain here until the pressure is off, but I did not choose to be here at all.

Being a displaced person does not mean anything bad. But the difference between being displaced by any type of disaster such as war, flood, or drought is different from being displaced by demand. A large number of people of Halfa were given land as compensation, but between 1988 and 1997, many indigenous people were displaced who received little or no compensation. It is clear that we have been pushed here for one reason or other, but we feel that we also must get some attention on the grounds of our rights as Sudanese, who have had to come here without anything except our lives.

Conditions of women and children are worse. Most are not educated and cannot get jobs. As a result, they cannot cope with the life here. Most are leading very stressful lives, and some women decided to go back. Most speak about peace, and they plan many things that they would do on the basis of 'if peace comes'. They usually

bring the word 'peace' into their prayers every day, although they are not really doing anything practical about trying to restore it. But if their awareness is raised, I personally feel that it is we, the Southern women, who jointly can pursue the peace process to its end. We have really tasted the bitterness of this long civil war all our lives. We have gone through conflicts and we are now old—and the war is not yet over.

If we join hands as one body or build a strong solidarity, we as Southern women would be able to push forward our voice for peace. [excerpts from an interview, *Women Magazine* 1996].

The experience of Marcillia Dino

Marcillia Dino, a Latuka in Torit, Eastern Equatoria, is a teacher. She is married, with five children, and her husband is in the army. She told her story—

In the year 1991 war became more violent and severe. We were living in Yambio, and from there we were forced to move to Central Africa on foot. I was accompanied by my husband and our three children. I was pregnant. Our food was the forest fruits. We reached Amboni city and stayed there for two days. Then we moved to Adiu Camp, where we suffered severely, and stayed for a week.

Afterwards the United Nations transported all the women and children to Youki Camp, where we were supplied with provisions and medical treatment and clothes. The refugees were distributed in tents—every ten families were given a tent. The men came to the camps later.

As soon as my husband joined us, we decided to leave the camp and live in a village nearby. There we built a cottage and cultivated the land. Six years passed, full of sorrows and sufferings from being away from our country and the rest of our family because of the lack of communication. Besides, we faced the problem of

education. How could we send our children to school where the language was French? How could they cope with their real society when they returned to their country? As a result, in 1996 we decided to return to Sudan. It was essential so that our children would not suffer from homelessness. We were supported by the United Nations, who settled us in Jebel Aulia Camp in Khartoum. The Commission for Refugees supplied us with a tent and a small amount of money to survive with.

In spite of the hard life we lived in the camp, I managed my duties as a mother and a housewife. I am working now as a teacher in the camp and have joined a Rural Visitors Course conducted by the Babiker Badri Scientific Association for Women's Studies.

I will never forget my husband's support. I moved to live in Omdurman with two of my children, leaving him with three to take care of.

About the war, Marcillia says—

War means destruction, scattering, separation, hunger, sickness, poverty, homelessness migration, seeking refuge, and so on. No one knows what war means unless they have suffered its torment, torture, and grief.

She also reports—

Any communication with my family was cut off for about six years until my family thought me dead, like all those who were killed during the war. But when I came to Omdurman, I sent them a letter, and they were surprised to know that I was still alive.

About peace Marcillia comments—

From deep in my heart, I wish the war would stop and peace would spread all through our country. I hope that all people who are involved in this disastrous war will cooperate and put an end to it.

6

Changing roles of women and gender relations in peacemaking

Women and men have different roles in conflict. These roles are influential in determining how women behave during conflict, during the aftermath of the conflict, during the peace process, and in the reconstruction and rehabilitation process necessary to restore the peace.

Women can be actively involved in conflict by being forced to assist in war preparation. Men desire militarism, which reinforces the patriarchal structure of the society. Women can also be forced directly or indirectly to join the armed forces. Women may also encourage men to fight. But women are concerned in ensuring that they and their families survive.

Women teach their children to value compassion, tolerance, mutual concern, and trust rather than aggression; yet male domination and the patriarchal structure encourage competition, power, and coercive control. Hence, forced conflict would appeal to the young as being reasonable and an acceptable way to solve problems.

During conflict women survive as victims. They have to call upon enormous reserves of emotional and physical energy, both to protect their families and to contribute to the struggle. They also have to face aggressive behaviour based on gender power relations. For example, rape is a sexual expression of

violence. Wartime rape can be motivated by any of the following:

- Enemy soldiers rape women to degrade the masculinity of their fighting menfolk.
- A victorious party believes it is its right to have its way with the women of the defeated party.
- The victors want to destroy and taint the purity of the culture, as women pass culture on to the young.
- Rape is seen by the rapist as an assurance of his masculinity.

In camps, the well-being of refugee and internally displaced women is harmed by—

- inadequate services for camp protection that reduce the likelihood of physical and sexual abuse of women
- lack of appropriate support services for women who have been victimized
- camp programmes not designed to cater for the special needs of women in health care, education, and legal services.
- programmes based on gender discrimination, in which women are excluded from involvement in programme planning and implementation

During conflict, some women participate in military units, taking masculine roles belonging to the militarist subculture. However, as they do not participate in primary decision making, they play a subordinate role. Many women serve in the military by cooking for soldiers and treating the wounded. Some boost soldiers' morale and encourage men to join the fighting.

Women have been affected by participating in the military in many ways. Participation has been positive for some. It raised their awareness, they learned how to organize, and they began to raise issues of gender equality. A negative effect

is the perception that women in the military are cold and less womanly. Even worse is that women, if captured by enemy soldiers, are punished not only because they are the enemy but also because they are women.

Women have also played supportive roles during conflict. For example, women become the breadwinners and take over tasks to keep the household and the economy running that men have had to leave.

Despite their being excluded at the top level of decision making during the peace process, women have made many contributions in the community and have identified the changes that must be made during this phase.

Feminist and women's movements cite the need for women to act as a watch dog during peace negotiations, to monitor that governments adhere to international laws that protect and secure the well-being of not only women but all people. Such organizations need not be highly formal. Some of the most effective examples of women organizing for peace have been fragmented and non-hierarchical grassroots movements, as discussed in the following section.

Women do not always find themselves in a better position in the postwar society. As soldiers return home, women are often forced back into traditional roles. For many women, life after war can be more agonizing than during the conflict, because after the conflict people focus no more on survival but on what they have lost. The emotional and material losses caused by war manifest themselves in post-traumatic disorder. Some women have said that forgiveness would be possible only when they felt justice had been done; others want revenge.

Conflict distorts gender roles, creating tension between the different demands placed on women (ElBushra and Mukaubuja 1995). Most of the women interviewed in this study

mentioned the stressful tensions they faced as a result of conflict. In addition to their reproductive role, women in the postwar period must engage in income-generating activities outside the safety of the home to support the family. In doing so, they encounter risks and harassment.

Displaced women who work as tea sellers or traditional beer makers experience police harassment daily. Women in Kordofan have now shifted from beer making to working in the construction industry. Women working to construct houses in the displaced camps was mentioned in group discussions as a sign of change in gender roles. Group discussions also revealed that before the outbreak of war, men, particularly the Dinka, were the ones who would decide whether to sell an animal or slaughter it. But after the war women make such decisions.

In war zone areas, women mentioned that the sultan would ask households to offer food, cloth, and such items to the fighters. Now, with the increasing number of female-headed households in the society, women decide for themselves whether to offer such donations. Another positive aspect is that women now know how to cross international borders to neighbouring countries, to deal with international relief agencies in different projects, and to ask for their rights. In short, the conflict has altered gender roles; it has contributed to breaking women's isolation and empowering them.

Skills, resources, and capabilities of women as peacemakers

Despite these positive breakthroughs, women face several constraints. The illiteracy rate among women in Sudan is as high as 80% among rural women (ElNager 1996), and the percentage is even worse among displaced women. Displaced

women in Sudan are the most disadvantaged group, lacking access to education, health services, credit, and productive employment. Hence they fall at the bottom of the list as income earners. Therefore, women have to develop ways to cope with their problems, regardless of whether they live in rural or urban areas.

Some of the current sociopolitical and economical hardships in Sudan are—

- escalating living expenses
- obligatory recruitment of students
- violations of women's rights
- inequalities in education
- deviants and vagabonds as an outcome of impoverishment

These issues are vitally important, and many have a negative impact on women in particular. They put a heavy burden on women. On the other hand, these same issues are vital incentives to motivate women to ponder reconciliation and peace.

Women are capable peacemakers. Using their intuition and different techniques, they enable harmony and disarm opponents. They can campaign against war, stressing its negative impact.

Some groups have been formed in Sudan, as discussed in the next chapter. Although these groups of women and their institutions have great potential for making peace, they face problems. There is—

- no coordination between women's groups in the peace process
- no combined effort between Northern women and their Southern counterparts
- little or no training available for the mediators and negotiators

- fear of involvement in the peace process because it is assumed to be a political matter
- little or no freedom of movement for women
- no participation in peace decision making by women
- no participation by women in preparing peace treaties
- no participation by women in airing opinions for the current peace treaties, and even though women are present in the battlefields, they are not present at the signing of peace treaties
- the incorrect assumption that war and peace are male issues only

To resolve such problems requires the political commitment of the leaders to listen to women's voices and to involve women in decision making in peace matters. Also, it means that women must form networking channels and be trained in techniques of networking and peacemaking.

7

Women-led peace initiatives

Various groups of women have undertaken a series of activities during the past years towards peace building. The following examples highlight women's progress in working towards reconciliation and peace building in Sudan.

Peace network

The Babiker Badri Scientific Association for Women Studies, the International Voluntary Women's Group, and the Nutrition and Rural Development Group formed a peace network and held a workshop in May 1997 hosted by the Ahfad University for Women (AUW).* The theme was 'Building a constructive debate on peace'. Its objectives focused on mobilizing the functions of civil societies and communities to promote the peace process. It promoted negotiating ideas constructively, exchanging views and experiences, discussing ideologies, and reflecting perceptions of issues. Debate and discussions covered the role of social movements, hidden and explicit reasons for war, citizenship, ethnic identity, regionalization and supranationalism. Discussion explored methods of conflict management and resolution and the ways in which tradition

* This is the second meeting that AUW hosted. The first was in 1995 as a follow-up to the UNIFEM–Carter Center post-Beijing meeting on peace dialogue held in Nairobi.

and culture were relevant to peace negotiations. Analyses and outcomes are summarized in tables 3 to 6.

There was a call for networking of different women's organizations, groups, and individuals, to continue working together in analysing and actively discussing the urgent and inevitable disputation in the ongoing peace-making process.

Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace

The Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace (SWVP) is a non-political, non-partisan, humanitarian pressure group formed in March 1994 by Sudanese women displaced by the war and living in exile in Nairobi, Kenya. It is concerned about the effects of the current war.

Its objectives include—

- promoting dialogue for mutual understanding and peace across all sectors of the Sudanese society, starting with the women themselves, which involves Sudanese women projecting a positive, powerful voice and image, devoid of tribal and racial prejudice and stereotyping
- providing publicity for the needs of women and children in particular, which involves talking to all sectors of the Sudanese and the international community about a peace option in addition to or in support of other current peace efforts
- training community leaders, especially women, in effective leadership and peacemaking
- identifying and rectifying hindrances to women's participation in peacemaking and peacekeeping

The philosophy of the SWVP is based on the image of woman as provider, peacemaker and sacred source of life. In nearly all civilizations the woman is associated with creation, civility, unification, and peace. Even now, in the very difficult

Table 3. Analysis of the problem in Sudan and its background

The problem	Historical background	Social background	Political background
All groups identified war as the leading problem, which is potentially loaded with hindering problems	War was identified to be potentially loaded with— • colonial impediment • differential economic development exploitation of differences by outside powers, who gave the conflict a religious, ethnic, tribal, and political complexion	War was identified to be potentially loaded with— • uneven development between different areas of Sudan • poverty in most of the areas in conflict • illiteracy • vested interest in war • health problems • difficult economic situation • lack of security • mistrust • lack of confidence	War was identified to be potentially loaded with— • mistrustful attitudes resulting from successful and unsuccessful agreements between North and South • human rights violations allegedly committed by both sides • underrepresentation of different groups during crucial occasions in Sudan history • external influence on the conflicting bodies

Source: Ahfad University for Women workshop, 'Building a constructive debate on peace', May 1997.

war situation in Sudan, it is the woman who interacts with the environment to provide most of the food for the family. Internationally or externally displaced, she still remains the symbol of economic, political, and social security—the symbol of hope. The SWVP see women as God's mirror of love in a

Table 4. The present situation and the desired situation

The present situation	The desired situation
Loss of life	Peaceful, improved environment
People refugees and displaced	Equal share of power and settlement
Destruction of infrastructure	Unity and rebuilding of infrastructure and basic conservation of resources
Destruction of resources	Security and stability
Poverty	Equal job opportunities
War, insecurity, and instability	Education for everybody
Health problems	Self-reliance
Lack of information flow to all parts of the community	Equal distribution of development
	Enjoyment of equal rights
	Recognition of cultural diversity

Source: Ahfad University for Women workshop, 'Building a constructive debate on peace', May 1997

hurting world, woman restores broken relationships. The society that destroys its womenfolk, therefore, destroys itself and will be judged by history.

The SWVP is committed to rediscovering and projecting this image of the woman and using it to harness energies for peace and reconciliation—in both the inter- and intrafactional fighting among the Southern Sudanese as well as the North–South dimension of the conflict. Members of the SWVP say that women are asking for a change in attitude through honest dialogue, forgiveness, and compromise. A human-centred approach that liberates the individual from the culture of violence is the message of the Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace.

Table 5. Resisting forces that act as obstacles to peace and actions to eliminate them

Resisting forces	Actions to eliminate the resisting forces
Internal influence	Internal influence
Power struggle	Realization that unity is strength and that factions should not play into the hands of vested interests
Propaganda	
Lack of confidence among the conflicting bodies	Settlement of conflicts through discussion
	Involvement of different sections of the society
	Full participation of all sections of the society in all aspects of community development and issues related to stability and development in Sudan
	Hard work towards self-reliance
External influence	External influence
Foreign intervention	Leading role of donor to urge peace and to urge all those concerned to mobilize peace
Stoppage or reduction of foreign and investment	
	Good relations with neighbouring countries
	Encouragement of investment in a future peaceful Sudan

Source: Ahfad University for Women workshop 'Building a constructive debate on peace', May 1997

The volunteer working group of the SWVP has been working with the Nairobi-based Sudan Working Group sponsored by the All Africa Conference of Churches, the National Council of Churches of Kenya, and a number of other Kenya international parachurch groups in charting out its strategies.

Table 6. Driving forces and the actions to strengthen them

Driving forces	Actions to strengthen the driving forces
Desire to achieve peace	Mobilization of women's groups
Consciousness-raising towards peace	Establishment of confidence and trust between the two sides working for peace
Women's involvement	
Recognition of the negative impact of war on resources and development	Vocalization of the silent voices
	Involvement of the whole community in the peace process
Agreement by all the community that war should be stopped	Training of a large number of the community about conflict and how to manage it
Many peace initiatives	
	Raising of awareness on the culture of peace

Source: Ahfad University for Women workshop 'Building a constructive debate on peace', May 1997

SWVP's precept is to knock on various 'peace doors' and never minimize its efforts.

Secretariat for Peace

The Secretariat for Peace is a general union of specialized bodies of Sudanese women. It was formed after the Sudanese Women's General Union was established in 1990. Its objectives are to—

- promote a culture of peace
- work towards narrowing the gap in the differences among groups in Sudan
- build up a women's cadre in the peace process and in political decision-making

Its programmes include—

- seminars, conferences, symposiums, and conventions on peace

- peaceful demonstrations for peace, organized all over the country
- relief programmes for displaced people
- creation of channels of contact with Sudanese women refugees abroad
- creation of tour teams taking relief aid to the war zones

The Secretariat for Peace has carried out the following activities:

- In September 1992, it organized a peace march in Juba.
- In October 1992, a peace march took place in Khartoum. Similar marches were organized in the other provinces.
- In December 1993, it held a conference for women on issues of war in Khartoum.
- In September 1994, it held the Convention for Women and Peace in Khartoum.
- It supported the appointment of a woman as the Minister for Peace, in 1994.
- In 1995–96, a woman, Ms Agnus Lokodo, participated in peace negotiations.
- In September 1995, it participated in the UNIFEM–Carter Center Peace Dialogue held in Nairobi.
- In May 1996, it supported women's groups that held a meeting on the political treaty for peace.
- In 1996, it supported women's groups that held a meeting with former rebel women's groups.
- In May 1997, it supported a conference held for enlightening women's groups about the Khartoum Peace Declaration.
- Women participated in the Abuja Conference.

The secretariat is faced with financial setbacks and the scarcity of women specialists in peace issues and conflict resolution. Therefore it recommends that—

- a special budget be allotted to the Women's General Union of Peace programme for the National Fund for Peace
- more women be trained to form a cadre on peace issues and conflict resolution

Women's Action Group—experience with peace initiatives

The Women's Action Group (WAG) steering committee was established in July 1996. It comprises three Northern and three Southern women plus a facilitator, totalling seven, who meet to discuss issues and endorse decisions.

WAG members suggest basic concerns and topics for discussion that they individually seem to be grappling with and want brought forward for open discussion and dialogue. Its ultimate goal is group bonding and confidence building, by participants learning to listen to one another and releasing or venting their pain and describing their hurt. This exercise is a priority, as it increases understanding among members of the emotional issues held within the group.

Emotional release hence takes centre stage in WAG. Personal pain of women in the group was sometimes expressed in anger against women from the other side. Some members in fact left during this process, but the steering committee felt that psychological pain and anger, if left unresolved would fester, creating negative energy that would divert, hold back and eventually disempower the group. But if this emotion were properly navigated, the group would become empowered and thus be able to deal more effectively with the issues and concerns of the larger group. These issues included selection

and implementation of social projects, deterioration in education, and even the possibility of contributing to national dialogue. The aim was to let Sudanese women speak constructively on these matters—women in displaced camps, women university students, or receptive Sudanese women from different cultures anywhere. Basic to this process was a willingness to listen to the personal pain of women from 'the other side'. WAG undertook a series of peace dialogue workshops to meet this ultimate aim.

The first of these workshops was carried out among WAG members to demonstrate how careful listening and reading of body language can provide hints of the unspoken pain and distress that women have within themselves. This venting of emotion holds many advantages, the obvious being that it relieved WAG members of their hurt and pain that had long been blocked. The resulting understanding, empathy, and confidence building allowed WAG members to bond and form a more comfortable, friendly, and less hostile group.

In August 1997, two listening-sensitivity and peace-dialogue workshops were carried out as part of bonding with women outside the WAG group. In these workshops women told their stories and listened carefully to the painful stories of other women. There were tears. There was amazement. And in the end there was joy.

From their analyses, WAG concluded that Sudanese women do not automatically divide themselves into Northerners and Southerners. Members agreed that they are words of convenience and that new terminology is urgently needed so as not to exclude women from the Nuba Mountains, the Red Sea Hills, and other areas, who have at times felt left out. Nor is it appropriate to divide the WAG into Christians and Muslims; the women feel strongly that it is not religion that divides them.

Feelings of helplessness to change social, cultural, economic, and political injustice are widespread, but sharing experiences with other women renews hope and expands resources. WAG believes that the 'differences' between women can actually unite them, for although personal experiences differ, emotions and social dilemmas are similar. There is strength in understanding that throughout the world, women share experiences of loss, emotional pain, and powerlessness. War, hatred, and prejudice are common enemies.

WAG proposes to promote understanding among Sudanese women from all regions of the country, to seek solutions to social problems, and to strengthen the role of women in peacemaking and social service. Within this general perspective, it was anticipated that if genuine dialogue became possible, as opposed to debate, the way forward would likewise become clear.

While the tools for dialogue are constantly refined and are never static, a valuable method for breaching the 'pain barrier' and for bonding people, as WAG has discovered, is to develop listening sensitivity towards the 'other'. This was the purpose of the workshop, which entailed 'venting our own pain', learning to listen sensitively, affirming the viewpoints and identity of others, and identifying common hopes and concerns. While the effort makes high demands on patience and compassion by 'looking together at our individual and collective pain', those who undertake it are able to understand that often 'our differences actually unite us'.

All these initiatives and individual efforts are now having a social impact. At present, women of different political, cultural, racial and tribal backgrounds are forming a large, national women's organization.

8

Recommendations

Raising awareness and introducing a culture of peace

Although the civil war between the North and the South has political, economic, and social roots, its origin lies in the Southerners' sense of injustice, oppression, and inequality in development and in the division of power and resources. There will be no ultimate victor in this war, as it has destroyed and continues to destroy lives, vegetation, schools, hospitals, and infrastructure. Unfortunately, the war is now being fought on religious grounds, and that has caused distortion in the minds of the Sudanese, especially children and young people.

A new socialization process, strengthened with the culture of peace, is essential. Man, woman, and the youth need to be educated in it so that the society does not turn again to armed conflict.

Women can play an effective role in peacemaking, as illustrated in the previous chapter. Based on the recommendations of the women interviewed in this study, the following steps are suggested.

1 Support and encourage local NGOs and peace groups to publish simplified yet educational writing that may, for example, involve the following subjects:

- ➢ the civil war, its causes, history, developments, and solutions
- ➢ tribal conflicts, their nature, causes, and resolutions

- ➢ positive and negative aspects of conflicts, past resolutions, and possible resolutions
- ➢ the exodus of refugees because of famine and drought; government policy dealing with refugee issues and the implications of returning refugees to their homes
- ➢ plans and projects concerning caring for refugees and safeguarding their welfare for the duration of their refugee status and after they return to their homes
- ➢ armed robbery, its background, factors leading to it, and resolutions
- ➢ women's rights as human rights

2 Form networks of men and women working for the implementation of peace and its maintenance. Their goals should include—

- ➢ intensive campaigning for an end to war and reconciliatory talks calling for an end to war
- ➢ the collection of petitions signed by women and other civil society groups, calling especially for an immediate stop to sending students to the war zones and the presentation of letters to the authorities responsible
- ➢ a call to ban the sale of weapons to all warring sides
- ➢ publication of casualty numbers and of photographs that reflect the brutal destruction of war
- ➢ building of relations with educated women and human rights organizations inside and outside Sudan for support and solidarity

3 Use art media and literature of all types in spreading the culture of peace. Simple national poetry, painting, sculpture, music, dancing, song, and the use of local dialects in short stories should be encouraged.

The follow-up to implement strategy

The constructive debates on peace and peacemaking that Sudanese women hold lead automatically to laying out strategies that different groups contemplate. The recommendations are divided into strategies:

Political strategies

- ➢ Promote, enhance, and strengthen peace and consider women's participation.
- ➢ Call for international mediators.
- ➢ Include wider participation of different parties.

Educational strategies

- ➢ Integrate the peace process in school curricula.
- ➢ Specify training institutes, agencies, and units, such as AUW and the University of Khartoum, that can train in the necessary skills for advocating peace.
- ➢ Orient the mass media toward developing and funding specific programmes for peace and development.
- ➢ Encourage various members of society to write more about peace.

Women's group strategies

- ➢ Target women's awareness in the grassroots.
- ➢ Develop women's roundtables to work on peace, involving both grassroots and women leaders
- ➢ Increase the number of existing women's national organizations that can follow up and update as well as vocalize women in the process of peace.
- ➢ Work on closing the gaps between Northern and Southern

women's organizations, through various opportunities that encourage dialogue.

Networking strategies

- ➢ Network with women's groups outside and inside Sudan.
- ➢ Call for meetings of women inside and outside Sudan.
- ➢ Train on networking, leadership and organizational skills.
- ➢ Create and strengthen the grassroots networking.

Other strategies

- ➢ Improve areas of research that would build and improve the capacity of women.
- ➢ Lay out a clear-cut plan of action to prevent violent conflicts.
- ➢ Promote the process of peace by putting more efforts into encouraging people's awareness of peace and the peace process.
- ➢ Conduct further analyses of the impact of conflict on women living in both urban and war-affected areas.

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Annex 1

Plan for the participatory rapid appraisal survey

Topics and guide questions

1 Traditional forms of conflict management and resolution and role of women

- What are the causes of conflict and sociocultural dynamics?
- What constitutes conflict from women's perspective (women from different tribes)?
- What were the traditional forms of conflict management before the war, in the South and South Kordofan?
- What are the existing ones?
- How are they formed?
- Are women represented in these forms?
- Do women have their own specific traditional forms of conflict management?
- What powers do these traditional forms have to enact roles in the local context?
- What types of disputes do they usually settle?
- How do they settle disputes?
- How can they help in sustaining peace in Sudan?

2 Women's strategies for resolving conflict

2.1 What are women's strategies for resolving conflict at home?

- Between the woman and her husband?
- Between the women and her children?
- Between the women and her in-laws?

2.2 What are women's strategies for resolving conflict in the community?

- Conflict between women and women?
- Conflict between women and men?

- Natural resources management?
- Social aspects such as dowry payment?

3 Documentation of innovative examples of local efforts and interventions by collecting local testimonies

- What are the local efforts made for conflict management?
- What are the specific efforts of women?
- What are the testimonies?

4 Women as peacemakers or agitators

- Testimonies of women as peacemakers
- The role of *hakamat* and other traditional singers in peacemaking
- Testimonies of women as agitators—the role of *hakamat*
- Collection of stories of personal and other experiences

5 Assessment of the sociopolitical, economic, and environmental dynamics of conflict, peace, and women

- What are the sociopolitical and economic dynamics of conflict?

5.1 What happened to the sociostructure of the disputants?

- Loss of husband, sons, brothers
- Child labour
- Street children
- Displacement
- Loss of trust and traditional mechanism of peaceful life

5.2 What are the economic dynamics of conflict?

- What happen to household incomes as a result of conflict?
- What happen to food security status of the household?
- Poverty of displaced
- Women as tea makers (new phenomenon)
- Women as construction workers (new phenomenon)
- Women and children as beggars
- Cuts in household expenditure

5.3 What are the environmental dynamics of conflict?

- Cutting of trees for charcoal as strategy of survival in Laggawa (peace villages)
- Lack of pit latrines in displaced camps as a sign of poor environmental conditions

6 Assessment of ordinary women's perception of conflict and postconflict reality and how this is related to their coping strategies

- How do ordinary women perceive conflict?
- How do they live the postconflict reality?
- What are the personal survival strategies in friction areas?
- Social strategies
- Economic strategies and coping mechanisms in collecting food from the wild
- Strategies for restructuring social infrastructure (education, teachers, *kalwas*)
- Strategies for economic survival
- Social strategies for marriage (payment of dowry)
- Strategies for social solidarity and convention of the group

7 Identify changing roles of women and the gender relations in peacemaking

- What are the gender roles?
- Who should do what?
- What are the new responsibilities of women in post conflict?
- How do women manage with the new roles?

8 Women's skills, resources and institutions as peacemakers

- What are women's skills?
- Do women have resources or an economic base to cope with conflict or to live post conflict?
- What are the positive skills that women have?
- What are the constraints they face?
- What are their needs and priorities?
- What are the skills needed?
- How to fill in the gaps in women's knowledge, resources, and skills?

Annex 2

Selected persons interviewed

Abel Alir	Former Vice President of Sudan
Nafisa Ahmed ElAmin	Former Vice Minister of Women's Union
Hafia Mamoun	Former Director of NGO
Sumia El Bashir	Director of Babiker Bedri Scientific Association for Women's Studies
Mohamed Amboli	Chief Sultan, Nuba Mountains
Father Philip Gaboosh	Former President of Sudan National Party
Esta Rahal	Rural Boram Corporation for Peace
Alaker Malwal	General Manager, South Sudan Independent Movement
Treza Alfred	Head of the Higher Council for Peace
Magda Naseem	Mandi Association
Suad Abu Kashawa	Development Studies and Research Centre, University of Khartoum
Dr Hana	Action FAIM–ACORD
Fadul Ali Hamid	Director General, National Administration, Ministry of Social Planning
Ali Yousif	Camp Director
Michael Ateem	Dinka Chief, Elssalam Camp
Mary Anglo	Medical Assistant, Elssalam Camp
Zynab Eltayeb	Hakama from Katsh-Nuba Tribe
Tereza Ashan	Dinka Chief, Bahr ElGazal, Elssalam Camp
Salwa Koko	Teacher, Elssalam Camp
Bilal Mahgoub	Kadogli Chief, President of the Social Court at Hay ElBaraka
Omer Abdalla	Kenana Chief, Abo Gibaiha, Hay ElBaraka
Mahasin Naseem	Women's Association, South Kordofan
Sakina Idirs	Women's Association, South Kordofan
Fathia Ramadan	Women's Association, South Kordofan

Annex 3

Women participants in the focus group discussion in Elssalam Camp, Omdurman

Name	*Ethnic group*	*From*
Maria Shoul	Dinka	Abeyei
Tan Joar Jack	Dinka	Abeyei
Nadia Akoul	Dinka	Abeyei
Aalwia Saboun	Nimang (Nuba)	Daleage
Digila Bageen	Nimang (Nuba)	Daleage
Ashul Gowar	Dinka	Abeyei
Naj Hal Ding	Dinka	Abeyei
Niro Eliyo	Dinka	Abeyei
Salwa Jan Mouk	Dinka	North Bahr Ghazal
Amna Krais	Nimang (Nuba)	Tundia
Abouk Al Maryol Jol	Dinka	North Bahr Ghazal
Fatima Abouk	Dinka	North Bahr Ghazal
Asher Babour	Nimang (Nuba)	Tundia
Adl Koul Adiar	Dinka	Awiel
Saida Hamid	Nimang (Nuba)	Kalta
Katira Kadons	Nimang (Nuba)	Tundia
Nadia Mustafa	Nimang (Nuba)	Tundia
Aman Saeed	Kababish (Arab)	Umm Garfa
akeita Baleel	Dar Hamid (Arab)	North El Obeid
Fatima Yagoup	Rizigat (Arab)	Nyalaa
Mastora Jumaa	Dar Hamid (Arab)	Elgaa, Bora Province
Hawa Mesal	Rizigat (Arab)	Nyalaa
Mariam Gasim	Rashidia (Arab)	Nyalaa
Asila Adam	Rashidia (Arab)	Nyalaa
Faiza Mohamed Ali	Rashidia (Arab)	Nyalaa

Annex 4

Women participants in the focus group discussion in ElRimala–Umbadda–Omdurman

Name	*Ethnic group*	*From*
Gisma Ismail	Kiga Damik	Damik
El Touma Totp	Keiga ElKhail	Damik
Hamra Mikki	Keiga ElKhail	Damik
Hawa Toto Kuku	Keiga ElKhail	Damik
Zahra Fudul	Kiga Damik	Damik
Halima Bilal	Kiga Damik	Damik
El Risala Bala	Kiga Damik	Damik
Nafisa Abu Ras Kafi	Keiga ElKhail	Damik
Halima Kafi	Keiga ElKhail	Damik
Malia El Zaki	Keiga ElKhail	Damik
Tahani Idris	Krongo Abdalla	Krongo
Lyla Abd El Rahman	Krongo Abdalla	Damik
Fatoma Ismail	Krongo Abdalla	Damik
Zienab Khamis	Krongo Abdalla	Damik
Ashi Touto	Keiga ElKhail	Damik
Asha Nawai	Keiga ElKhail	Damik
Elsigira Musa	Keiga ElKhail	Damik
Zeinab Jeril	Kamda	Laggawa
M. Bakhatien	Kamda	Ladi–Laggawa
Aman El Boshari	Kamda	Jebel Tarin-Laggawa
Madian Ali	Kamda	Laggawa

ANNEX 5

Khalifa Institute teachers interviewed

Name	*University*	*Faculty*
Khalifa Adam Kafi	Omdurman University	Law
Mohamed Juma	Omdurman University	Linguistics
Mohamed Abdelaal	Omdurman University	Law
Ismail El Basha	high secondary school	
Muna Mahjoub	Khartoum University	Agriculture
Habib Alla Awad Elhag	El-Neileen University	Art
Mashair M. Al-Amin	Ahliya Univeristy	Management
Jaafar	Omdurman University	Art
Jamal El-Fadil	Omdurman University	Art

ANNEX 6

Ahfad University for Women

Questionnaire design for studying the role of women in peace and conflict resolution

1. Name _____
2. Age
   a) 15–25 years ❒
   b) 26–35 years ❒
   c) 36–45 years ❒
   d) 45 and above ❒
3. Reasons that forced you to come here to Khartoum
   a) War ❒
   b) Natural disaster ❒
   c) Education ❒
   d) Other, specify ❒
4. Length of time settled in this area
   a) Months to 1 year ❒
   b) 2–3 years ❒
   c) 3 years or more ❒
5. Education level of woman (respondent)
   a) Informal education ❒
   b) Primary school ❒
   c) Junior secondary school ❒
   d) Senior secondary school ❒
   e) University ❒
6. Social status
   a) Single ❒
   b) Married ❒
   c) Divorce ❒
   d) Widow ❒
   e) Other (specify) ❒

7. Where is your husband? ----------
8. Educational level of husband ❒
   a) Informal education ❒
   b) Primary education ❒
   c) Junior secondary school ❒
   d) Senior secondary school ❒
   e) University ❒
9. Occupation of the woman (respondent)
   a) Official ❒
   b) Worker ❒
   c) Informal sector ❒
   d) Other (specify) ❒
10. Income of household per month
   a) Husband ❒
   b) Worker ❒
   c) Eldest son or daughter ❒
   d) Other combination ❒
11. Do you receive any form of aid?
   a) Yes ❒
   b) No ❒
12. Occupation of the husband
   a) Official ❒
   b) Worker ❒
   c) Other (specify) ❒
13. Number of children
   a) None ❒
   b) 1–3 children ❒
   c) 4–6 children ❒
   d) 7 or more children ❒
14. Number of children by sex
   a) Boys ❒
   b) Girls ❒
15. Number of children in school age
   a) 6–13 years ❒
   b) 14 -16 years ❒

c) More than 16 years ❒

16. Are all children of school age enrolled in school?
    a) Yes ❒
    b) No ❒
17. If no, what are the reasons why not?
    ---
18. How do you cover your family needs?
    ---
19. Do you have any help from other organizations?
    a) Yes ❒
    b) No ❒
20. If yes, how much? In kind or in cash?
    ---
21. Have you ever been affected by war?
    a) Yes ❒
    b) No ❒
22. In what sense?
    ---
23. Do you participate in any peace activity in this area?
    a) Yes ❒
    b) No ❒
24. If yes, when did it start, is it registered, and what types of activities are conducted?
    ---
25. Is there any peace initiative such as a group or an organization in this area?
    .....
26. Do you have any representative from your area in any women's activities that take place in Khartoum to promote peace? Specify.
    a) Yes ❒
    b) No ❒
27. Do all women in your area share ideas and cooperate with each other?
    a) Yes ❒

In what ways or form?

---

b) No ❒

Why not?

---

28. Do women of Jabel Aulia have any connection or relation with any activities of women of women in peace promotion in Khartoum?
    a) Yes ❒
    b) No ❒
29. Do you share or have any connection with women who are still in the South?
    a) Yes ❒
    b) No ❒
30. If yes, how? If no, why not?

---

31. What is your opinion toward peace?

---

32. Do you have hope that one day peace may be achieved?
    a) Yes ❒
    b) No ❒
33. Yes or no, what are the reasons?

_____

34. When peace is achieved, will you return to your original place as soon as possible?
    a) Yes ❒
    b) No ❒
35. Yes or no, what are the reasons?

---

36. Do you participate in any social activities related to peace promotion?
    a) Yes ❒
    b) No ❒
37. What is your role as a mother or a sister in bringing peace?

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38. What are you doing or how are you organizing yourself to bring peace?

    ---

39. Other comments or recommendations you may have
